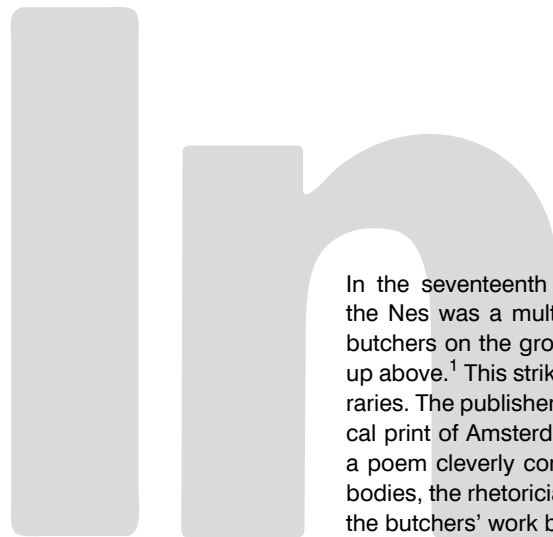


Alison M. Kettering

After Life:
Rembrandt's *Slaughtered Ox*



In the seventeenth century, Amsterdam's Small Meat Hall in the Nes was a multi-purpose facility. The city rented space to butchers on the ground floor and to surgeons and rhetoricians up above.¹ This striking juxtaposition was not lost on contemporaries. The publisher of Claes Jansz Visscher's 1611 topographical print of Amsterdam's two main meat halls [Fig. 1] attached a poem cleverly comparing the surgeons' treatment of human bodies, the rhetoricians' engagement with the human spirit, and the butchers' work below.²

Years after Visscher's print about the meat halls, a similar juxtaposition of human with animal flesh probably struck Rembrandt as he addressed two related subjects. His splendid *Slaughtered Ox* in the Louvre bears the date 1655 [Fig. 2].³ Shortly thereafter, he painted the second of his anatomy pieces, the *Anatomy Lesson of Dr Jan Deijman*, dated 1656 [Fig. 3], produced several decades after his better known *Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp* (1632).⁴ Deijman's corpse was Joris Fonteijn, a thief who had been hanged on 28 January 1656. Two days later Fonteijn served as the subject for dissection in the surgeons' Small Meat Hall theatre. Fonteijn had been arrested in the Sint-Anthoniebreestraat, Rembrandt's own street, which made his acquaintance with the case likely. He may also have been hoping for such a commission ever since Deijman's promotion to *praelector* of anatomy in 1653. Once the commission was in hand, Rembrandt must have visited the anatomy



1. Claes Jansz Visscher, «The Large and Small Meat Hall on the Nes (Grote en Kleine Vleeshal in de Nes)», 1611, engraving, 9.9 × 14 cm (Holl. 146, Simon 149), Amsterdam, Stadsarchief. Photo: Stadsarchief

room itself⁵, 'the cutting place', as historian Caspar Commelin called it.⁶ Whenever that occurred, he necessarily walked past the butchers' wares below, as he must have done on other occasions.

Rembrandt was not the only artist to encounter this contiguity. In Rotterdam, the meat hall also shared space with an anatomy theatre; elsewhere in the Dutch Republic the two lay in close proximity. But no other Dutch artist engaged in such rapid succession with a butchered carcass and a dissected cadaver: *vleesch met vleesch*, meat with flesh, animal with human.

Different as they are, the Ox and the *Deijman* both present a display of glistening, soon-to-decay flesh in which the physical, intellectual, and spiritual implications of that flesh call for

interpretation and response. In the former, the head's removal forces attention on what remain of the ox's guts, a spectacle of red muscle and fat that foregrounds the hollowing out of the internal cavity even as it emphasizes the mechanics of butchering. In the latter, the corpse's head, seat of human faculties, commands attention over the disemboweled abdomen, which appears as a yawning cavity. Yet the picture's composition encouraged viewers to contemplate the entirety of the corpse as much as the dissection procedure. Before a fire destroyed most of this huge painting, the surgeons were seen arrayed like acolytes attending a sacred mystery – the mortality of the body.

Picturing this human corpse linked Rembrandt with a highly specialized profession and required him to fit the picture



2. Rembrandt,
«Slaughtered Ox»,
oil on panel, 94 × 67 cm,
Paris, Musée du Louvre,
inv. no. M.L.169. Photo:
© RMN-Grand Palais/Art
Resource, NY



3. Rembrandt, «Anatomy Lesson of Dr Jan Deijman», dated 1656, oil on canvas, 113 × 135 cm, Amsterdam Museum.
Photo: Amsterdam Museum



4. «Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Jan Deijman», pen and brush in grey and black, lightly washed, 110 × 133 mm, Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. TA 7395.
Photo: Amsterdam Museum

to a specific location for viewers with specialized scientific knowledge [Fig. 4].⁷ Picturing a bovine carcass – for an unknown but possibly more general audience – meant exploring the nature of animal existence and by implication of human existence. The one painting represented a highly unusual death, the other the mundane, ordinary mortality of a farmyard beast. Comparison of the two images is all the more complex because of the depreciated ontological status of the supine corpse – a felon in need of redemption – versus the physical power of a vertical, giant, but soul-less animal.⁸

Rembrandt and his audience would clearly have been familiar with Karel van Mander's advice in his *Grondt der edel vry schilderconst* (1603–1604) to study animals and humans comparatively. Van Mander even included reference to the ancients' use of skinned animal cadavers as well as living creatures. He advocated such comparative study as a means of understanding the physical structures that humans and animals shared.⁹ By implication, his comments alluded to the epistemological associations of the comparison, an exploration that Rembrandt's two paintings, each in its own way, may have encouraged viewers to undertake.

Rembrandt's approaches to mortality in regard to both the *Deijman* and the *Ox* have been the subject of scholarly discussion for generations. While much is known about the circumstances surrounding the *Deijman* painting, little contextual information has come down to us concerning Rembrandt's *Ox*. This essay will focus on the *Slaughtered Ox*, touching on artistic and critical reactions to the image over the past two centuries, and concentrating on how we in the twenty-first century might approach the picture differently.

Reception: Artists, Critics, Historians

Many Dutch painters had produced images of slaughtered swine and oxen before 1655, and Rembrandt himself visited this motif several times in drawings and in one etching. None of these works garnered the attention – or the variety of responses, it should be emphasized – given to Rembrandt's painting, which entered the Louvre in 1857.¹⁰ Although today the image of a flayed ox may cause some to cringe, the subject's very unsightliness fascinated artists and critics in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹¹ One painter after another, from Delacroix to Daumier and others, produced copies and variations on the *Slaughtered Ox*.¹² They were not alone among romantic realists. In an era of social revolution, Rembrandt became an emblem for republican values, a partisan of the common man.¹³ Soon thereafter, influenced by *l'art pour l'art* currents, viewers' attention shifted to the painting's formal values.¹⁴ Rembrandt's composition, his handling of pigment, and especially his colour dazzled the enthusiasts.¹⁵ In 1888, one admirer, Vincent van

Gogh, responded to Rembrandt's *Ox* by urging his friend Emile Bernard to look closely at the work, to study the artist's palette and surface textures.¹⁶ Artists' responses to the picture's colourism took a different turn with the arrival of expressionism. Chaim Soutine's boldly colouristic meditations on the *Slaughtered Ox* (1925) pushed Rembrandt's tangible form to near abstraction, while transforming the carcass into something anguished.¹⁷

The mid-twentieth-century art historian Charles Sterling echoed Soutine by romanticizing the *Ox* in an effusive evocation celebrating its pictorial energy and 'molten' pigments.¹⁸ His contemporary Kenneth Clark emphasized the picture's quasi-religious dimensions.¹⁹ In 1989, Kenneth Bendiner took this further: the animal's 'lacerated and truncated' body transforms the picture into 'a kind of crucifixion'.²⁰ For Hélène Cixous writing in 1993, the *Slaughtered Ox* – this 'portrait of our mortality' – is the 'Passion according to Rembrandt'.²¹

By this time, the picture had long since become for art historians an iconographical puzzle, a bearer of symbolic meanings and Christian warnings. A case in point is Eddy de Jongh's assertion of the moralizing significance of the pig-bladder toy – a *homo bulla* – in depictions of swine; he suggested that similar meanings could be extrapolated to Rembrandt's *Ox*.²² For de Jongh and others, ox and swine pictures functioned primarily as *memento mori*, or as allegories of human suffering. This anthropocentric interpretation understood the animal's death as a metaphor for the inevitable death of all living creatures. De Jongh's citation of the caption to the *Groote comptoir almanach* (1667) summarizes this approach: 'You who for your own pleasure slaughter ox and swine and calf; consider how on the Last Day you will be subjected to God's judgment'.²³ Kenneth Craig even argued that Rembrandt intended the Louvre painting as a direct allusion to the Prodigal Son, and ultimately to Christ's redemptive death.²⁴

In the twenty-first century, scholars continue to argue that the dead animal carries religious implications, and they continue to find textual support for this view.²⁵ The Rembrandt Research Project's entry on the *Slaughtered Ox* calls attention to literary works specifically linking the death of oxen – more than other beasts – with humans' inescapable end, perhaps (I would add) because of their proverbial patience and obedience in the face of certain death. They cite such poets as Rembrandt's friend Jeremias de Decker, whose 'Gelijck den os voor de bijl' (Like an ox before the ax) was published in 1656, one year after the Paris picture, along with similar writings by Jacob Cats and Joannes Six van Chandelier.²⁶

This article does not dispute such cautionary meanings for Rembrandt and his audience, but rather, argues for more expansive and complicated readings. It acknowledges the multiple responses that this picture has generated over the years, an outsized impact due to its very extra-ordinariness. We cannot know for certain if the painting generated an impact during its own

time. But we can extrapolate its many meanings by studying the ox and its representations in seventeenth-century Dutch culture. This entails examining a multitude of social and cultural practices that reflected scientific and artistic enquiries, both ancient and modern, and extended to human engagement with animals and rest of the natural world. More broadly, the article will ask how Rembrandt revealed general truths about animal and human nature.

In essence, I will look at Rembrandt's transformation of a conventional, mundane, animal subject, using history painting strategies, to prompt contemplation of larger concerns. For seventeenth-century viewers, his *Slaughtered Ox*, no less than the *Deijman*, raised questions of what it meant to be alive or not; to have a soul or not; to be saved or not.

Animal Nature, Human Nature

While Karel van Mander's comments on animals and humans (and his entire chapter on beasts and birds) were well known to Dutch artists, van Mander himself was the beneficiary of a century of thinking about animal-human relationships. The late-sixteenth-century essayist Michel de Montaigne, in refuting the philosophical principle of the Great Chain of Being, famously argued that animals could teach humans much about matters of life and death.²⁷ Earlier in the century, the Flemish anatomist Vesalius saw animals teaching his readers in a quite specific way: he recommended the study of butchering as a necessary means toward understanding both dissection and anatomy in general.²⁸ He and his colleagues were well aware that their great predecessor from antiquity, Galen, had gleaned his knowledge of anatomy entirely from animal rather than human dissections. Galen's study of comparative anatomy listed animals most similar to humans on the basis of their analogous forms. Interestingly he chose the ox for understanding the brain in its relation to the heart.²⁹

Vesalius likewise dissected animals when human corpses were in short supply. He preferred pigs and especially dogs, both alive and dead, for their availability and ease of handling. The title plate of his *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* shows two dogs awaiting their service to science, as well as a monkey, another creature useful for vivisection and dissection.³⁰ In the Netherlands, Peter Pauw, the great Leiden anatomist, studied both human and animal bodies, dissecting a calf in 1594 and the eyes of oxen somewhat later.³¹ Not surprisingly, animal skeletons as well as human ones decorated the Leiden anatomy theatre, functioning both as teaching tools in osteology and as reminders of the similarities between species. They also served as *memento mori*. In contemporary prints of anatomy theatres, *memento mori* imagery is ubiquitous. Rembrandt's own drawing of a human skeleton riding a horse skeleton may well have

been occasioned by a visit to the Leiden or Amsterdam theatre.³² Van Mander himself urged artists to study flayed animals, following the ancients.

Both the butcher and the anatomist dismembered bodies. While the one cut and flayed to provide sustenance, the other cut and flayed to gain knowledge. Carcasses possessed structures and features closely akin to those of cadavers, a conjunction well recognized at the time.³³ Such contemporary ideas about animal-human conjunctions lead not only to scientific discoveries but also to more intangible, philosophical truths. Picturing a flayed carcass, like picturing a flayed cadaver, involved going beneath hide and skin both physically and metaphorically, to probe the mysteries of death.

It also meant exploring the essential nature of animal versus human existence. Descartes and his opponents were actively debating the question of whether animals possessed souls.³⁴ At the same time in Holland, thinkers concluded that the depreciated status of a criminal's soul was the very thing that made his body subject to dissection. The souls of those who represented the lowest level of humanity were termed 'ignorant' and therefore destined for everlasting torment in the hereafter.³⁵ As one late sixteenth-century anatomist observed: '[...] the entire ocean cannot wash away [the criminal soul's] ignorance [...] they say it is cruel to cut and carve up men as a butcher would. [...] It is much more cruel to torture and kill the living on account of ignorance [referring to the crimes that preceded dissection]'.³⁶ For such thinkers, human souls varied significantly in status, which suggests that a creature's soul, perhaps even that of an animal, fit on some sort of continuum.

Agriculture, Trade, and Marketing

For Dutch society at large, though, animal carcasses functioned on a much more quotidian level. To understand the contemporary context for Rembrandt's *Slaughtered Ox* further, agricultural, socio-economic, and physiological factors must be brought to bear. Certainly the physical differences between oxen and swine were apparent at the time, as evidenced in artistic representations. The swine carcass is identifiable by its smaller size, ovoid shape, the presence of two dark kidneys, and the ladder on which it is stretched.³⁷ In contrast, the ox tended to dominate pictorially, looming as a massive, rectangular shape, with the inclusion of suet³⁸ and a cross beam for hanging.

Not only their physical appearance but also their associations differed markedly. In the early modern period, swine connoted filth, laziness, lechery, and vice.³⁹ Oxen, on the other hand, connoted forbearance, work, strength, endurance, and the phlegmatic humour. Van Mander singled out Labour and Patience.⁴⁰ These were age-old associations, which can be gleaned from sources as diverse as almanacs, natural history



5. Jan and Kasper Luiken, «De Vleeshouwer», in *Het menselyk bedryf*, Amsterdam, 1694, no. 43, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
Photo: Rijksmuseum

and veterinary texts, husbandry manuals, emblems, and religious writings.⁴¹ In light of the ox's cachet, it is no wonder that the prize at an annual Amsterdam civic guard competition – as pictured in a large, anonymous panel (Amsterdam Museum, 1564) for the Town Hall – was a gigantic ox rather than a pig.⁴²

Pork was far more available and affordable than beef, for those who could afford any meat at all. Sty pigs were common – peasants frequently raised swine for sale during autumn at nearby livestock markets. Such country markets also served



6. Rembrandt, «Slaughter Scene at Night», c. 1655, pen in brown, washed and heightened with white, 133 × 180 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, KdZ 8516. Photo: author

farmers selling castrated bulls, a few at a time. But presumably everywhere, oxen sold for many times more than pigs.⁴³

In Rembrandt's Amsterdam, many of the oxen sold at the market originated from abroad. This was big business. Large herds of male cattle were reared in Denmark and in Schleswig-Holstein. There they were castrated before being transported to German and Dutch livestock markets.⁴⁴ First Hoorn and Enkhuizen, and later (by mid-century, Rembrandt's time) Amsterdam served as the major lean animal market.⁴⁵ In the early spring, the oxen arrived lean after their long journeys from Denmark. Fattening took place in North Holland's fertile pastures close by cities with populations eager to consume beef. Danish beef – so-called *herenvoedsel* – was considered especially tasty and nutritious. It was even mentioned by poet Joost van den Vondel after a visit to Denmark.⁴⁶ In late autumn, graziers brought their animals back to Amsterdam, to the fat ox market which began on Saint Luke's Day (13 October) and lasted for three or four weeks. The same square, situated on the city's perimeter close to wharves and major roads, provided the stockyards for both the spring and autumn markets.⁴⁷

City butchers purchased the steers at the autumn market and killed them at or near their homes. For his print *De Vleeshouwer* in *Het menselyk bedryf* (1694), Jan Luiken illustrated just such a setting. The butcher kills an ox inside a structure open to an Amsterdam street, with slaughtered pigs hanging on the street side [Fig. 5].⁴⁸ Rembrandt's drawing in Berlin (c. 1655) [Fig. 6], a night scene, shows a huge ox butchered in a back room or shed, perhaps in an urban setting behind the butcher's dwelling.⁴⁹ Once animals were slaughtered, butchers hauled



7. Jan van der Heyden, «View of the Westerkerk», oil on panel, 53.3 × 64.1 cm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Promised gift of Rose-Marie and Eijk van Otterloo, in support of the Center for Netherlandish Art. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts

the carcasses to the central meat halls for sale – the Large and Small Meat Halls in the Nes, or such smaller halls as the Westerhal. In his *View of the Westerkerk* (c. 1667–1670), Jan van der Heyden included a glimpse of just such a small meat hall, with workers standing next to a hanging ox [Fig. 7].⁵⁰ In the seventeenth century, meat would rarely have been sold from butchers' premises (where slaughtering took place).⁵¹ A 1690 drawing shows the interior of the Large Meat Hall with butchers presiding over its many counters.⁵² Before selling the meat, inspectors, who were headquartered upstairs in the Large Meat Hall, certified its quality. All of this gives context for Rembrandt's setting in the *Slaughtered Ox*. It is neither a meat hall nor any place of sale.

Agricultural factors encouraged the extensive trade in oxen as a food source. Fields in the western Netherlands were more suitable for husbandry than for the cultivation of heavy crops.⁵³ Most farmers had little need of a draught animal for ploughing or hauling, a traditional role for the ox. Instead oxen benefited humans not as living beasts of burden but as dead flesh – that is, as meat and its by-products, destined for the well-to-do.

By 1655, the date of Rembrandt's *Ox*, many of the pasture lands were owned by prosperous urban merchants who had chosen to invest their wealth in property, including the newly created polders of North Holland.⁵⁴ Bypassing the lean market, they banded together in *ad hoc* companies, sending agents to Denmark to purchase oxen for fattening on their estates. While economic motives were likely paramount, they also enjoyed visiting their herds during the summer. Come autumn, they had the oxen slaughtered to provide meat for their families or sold the animals to trading companies that operated private slaughterhouses.⁵⁵ As Wilma Gijsbers has noted, although urbanites would formerly have disdained the designation 'farmer', in the second half of the seventeenth century the term took on the allure of an honorary title.⁵⁶

A street scene by Jan van der Heyden and Adriaen van de Velde, which features an ox in a posh Amsterdam neighbourhood, nicely illustrates the status of the animal during Rembrandt's lifetime (c. 1670) [Fig. 8].⁵⁷ Here a painter of urban imagery collaborated with a painter of rural cattle to create an image that deviates from both. This sturdy creature is tethered to the stair of a fancy canal house.⁵⁸ The canvas shows the maid watching a fellow behind the ox feel the animal's dewlap perhaps to demonstrate its high quality.⁵⁹ The picture implies that the ox's wealthy owner – perhaps a *herenboer* – might soon descend the stairs to examine his possession before having the creature driven off to slaughter. For viewers of this unusual subject, the association with the international ox trade must have been uppermost. A city scene featuring a pig in an upscale, residential neighbourhood is almost unimaginable.

Nicolaas Elias, the owner of an early eighteenth-century country house, was just such a *herenboer*. A letter showed both pride in his cattle, his slaughtered ox's financial worth,



8. Jan van der Heyden and Adriaen van de Velde, «Ox on a City Street», c. 1670, oil on canvas, 31.4 × 40.3 cm, Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Anna Scripps Whitcomb, 38.31. Photo: Detroit Institute of Arts

the beauty of its flesh, and an awareness of contemporary painting: the steer's fat, he asserted, was 'such a lovely golden-ducat colour that no painter could do it justice'.⁶⁰ We must assume he was unaware of Rembrandt's glowing *Ox*.

Artistic Tradition

Most members of the Dutch viewing public were likely familiar with representations of live oxen (castrated bulls) and bulls in contemporary landscape paintings with herds and their tenders. Painted landscapes appropriately feature animals grazing on flat pasture land rather than peasants tending fields of grain. Even if they had not seen Paulus Potter's enormous painting *The Bull* (Mauritshuis 1647), they might well have known his or Aelbert Cuyp's landscapes in which cattle take precedence over human figures.⁶¹

Alternatively, some painters focused on creatures already dead: oxen (or pigs) depicted as carcasses hung up after slaughter, the type that concerns us here.⁶² These images were associated with autumn (*slachttijd*), when animals were slaughtered and fresh meat consumed. A survey of the scope of this subject in both sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Holland indicates the highly conventionalized nature of these many representations as well as the subtle variations among them.⁶³ As will become apparent, Rembrandt characteristically engaged this tradition even as he went his own way.



9. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, «Prudence», dated 1559, engraving attributed to Philip Galle, 225 × 293 mm (inscription: 'If you wish to be prudent, think always of the future and keep everything that can happen in the forefront of your mind'), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Photo: Rijksmuseum



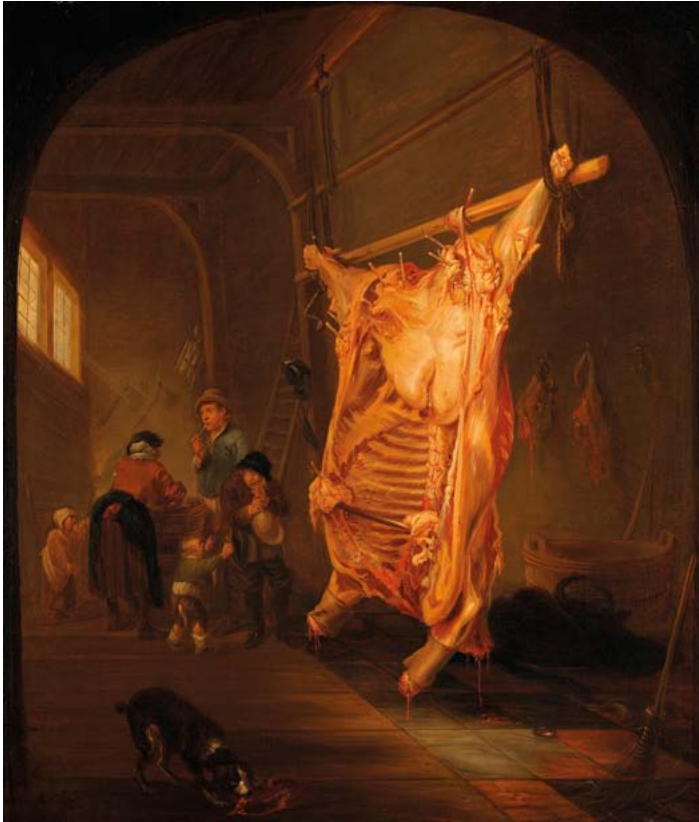
10. Hendrick Sorgh, «Interior of a Farmhouse», c. 1640, oil on panel, 46.5 × 68 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Photo: Tom Haartsen, Ouderkerk a/d IJssel



11. David Teniers, «Kitchen Interior with Still Life and Slaughtered Ox», early 1640s, oil on panel, 33 × 44 cm, private collection. Photo: author



12. Rembrandt, «Two Butchers at Work on a Carcass», c. 1635, pen and brown ink, 14.9 × 20 cm (Ben 400), Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut. Photo: author



13. Abraham van den Hecken, «Slaughtered Ox», c. 1635–1655, oil on canvas, 114 × 98 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Photo: Rijksmuseum



14. Jan Victors, «Slaughtered Ox», c. 1650–1670, oil on panel, 53 × 40 cm, Cologne, Kunsthau Lempertz, 11 May 2003 (lot 1064). Photo: © Sasha Fuis

The best-known depictions of flayed animals from the sixteenth century are by Pieter Aertsen, Joachim Beuckelaer, and Maarten van Cleve. Aertsen's famous 1551 *Meat Stall* has come down to us in four nearly identical versions (Uppsala, Raleigh, Amsterdam, and Maastricht), attesting to its success. Here the butchered ox head dominates an array of meat cuts on the market stall, while its headless carcass is juxtaposed with a genre display redolent of gluttony and frivolity.⁶⁴ Aertsen's followers developed the slaughtered carcass motif alone in compositions that concentrated on butchering, likely read as *memento mori*. In the next century, Flemish (rather than Dutch) artists continued to depict meat for sale.

Rembrandt was probably acquainted with such paintings. Almost certainly he knew Bruegel's allegory of the virtue *Prudence*.⁶⁵ In this print [Fig. 9], the ox stands both as an exhortation to wise behaviour (laying aside meat for winter) and as a reminder of death. Note the man with the candle calling

our attention to the carcass and these meanings. In the wake of Bruegel's example, Rembrandt positioned his own figure – a woman – to observe both viewer and ox.

Rembrandt's painting also shows his awareness of, or even competitiveness with, more immediate predecessors, most importantly, farmstead pictures. These hybrids of still life and genre juxtaposed objects with human beings, heightening the conceptual density of each image. By placing his observing woman in a rough, dark, interior, Rembrandt echoed such pictures as Hermann Saffleven's *Farmhouse Interior* of 1634.⁶⁶ These small farmstead pictures usually feature food and kitchen goods alongside peasants. They are set in rustic kitchens and barns, warmed by chiaroscuro tones and shadowy recesses. Sometimes they include meat, as with the pig carcass in a painting by Egbert van der Poel.⁶⁷ Hendrik Sorgh's c. 1640 panel is another example conveying a chain of meanings linking barn, vegetables, and earthy proclivities [Fig. 10]. In Teniers's picture of the early



15. Relief (with polychromy restored) originally above the entrance to the Vinders Kamer, Grote Vleeshal, Amsterdam, now relocated to Oudezijds Voorburgwal 274, Amsterdam. Photo: Vereniging Vrienden Amsterdam Gevelstenen

1640s, a slaughtered ox dominates the back room while pots and vegetables aggressively vie for attention up front [Fig. 11]. The human figures in these paintings raise the issue of gender, for it is typical of the genre that women are shown engaged in domestic work, while men chat and smoke. The man's hardest labour is over, the carcass hangs dripping and beginning to age. Only the presence of a chopping block signals work still to be done before delivering the beef to a market or rich kitchen. The only farmstead picture that eliminates human staffage is the Rembrandtesque panel (sometimes attributed to Adriaen van Ostade) in Budapest though it does include anecdotal details pointing to abundant human activity.⁶⁸ It is worth mentioning that in his much earlier ink drawing, *Two Butchers at Work* (c. 1635?), Rembrandt depicted the next steps: butchers cutting up a carcass – here a pig – for delivery [Fig. 12]. But this was an aspect of slaughtering never depicted in oil.

Whether in farmstead picture, still life, or genre work, artists adhered to certain conventions when painting dead animals. Game pieces, for example, with their aristocratic associations, always depicted their hunting trophies intact, to preserve their visual glory.⁶⁹ Ox pictures, by contrast, usually showed the dead body *flayed*, suggesting the process of butchering and the labour necessary for the job. Flemish artists often depicted the ox straight on, following Bruegel's example, and included the white butcher cloth prominent in his *Prudence* [Fig. 9]. But in Holland, many painters, including Rembrandt, turned the ox carcass to a three-quarter view, revealing one exterior side, while still retaining the display of its innards to show off its hulking materiality.

The largest of the ox paintings is Abraham van den Hecken's canvas (early 1650s) [Fig. 13].⁷⁰ The ox hangs from beams in a spacious room; its head and hide lie behind it on the floor.

In the foreground, a dog chomps on offal, a common staffage feature in slaughtered animal scenes – perhaps to signal the rawness of the butchering process and the contrast to orderly human endeavour. A peasant group stands at the back: the wife washes up, the husband smokes, the kids play with a bladder.⁷¹ Viewers' readings would have depended on their interest in subtextual implications. For some, the bladder may have served symbolically as a *memento mori*, a reference to the fragility of human life in line with contemporary almanacs and poems.⁷² Others (or even the same viewers) might well have interpreted it more prosaically as an everyday toy.⁷³ For them, van den Hecken's picture might have suggested a harmonious family whose hard work has led to modest prosperity.⁷⁴ The family bears witness to human dominion over animals, an idea that squares with Biblical thinking. But while the human figures and lively genre details may catch our eye, there is no question that the looming ox displaces them visually by its size, placement, and lighting. This shift focuses viewer thoughts upon animal – and human – mortality⁷⁵, something that happens even more powerfully in front of Rembrandt's Ox.

Jan Victors's unusual variation on the ox picture reinforces such a focus by reminding us of the physical connections between human and animal [Fig. 14].⁷⁶ The locale is again a place of slaying and flaying rather than sale. The butcher sits on a barrel, admiring his handiwork; his wife cleans up. But Victors takes a remarkably novel tack by adding a third figure to the usual married pair. This older man stands next to the ox, examining it closely. The open door behind him suggests that he is an outsider. Both his clothing and his bodily attitude confirm it. He might seem to represent the inspector whose office was located in the Large Meat Hall.⁷⁷ The gable relief that survives from above the office door shows just such an inspection [Fig. 15].⁷⁸ Yet rather than wearing the sort of contemporary dress seen in that relief, the visitor wears a long, fur-lined tabard, and he studies the ox through spectacles. These would seem to identify him as a scholar showing a scientific curiosity about animal anatomy. His hand gestures and the intensity of his looking serve to shift our understanding of the flayed creature: not so much butchered as dissected.

Rembrandt's Animals

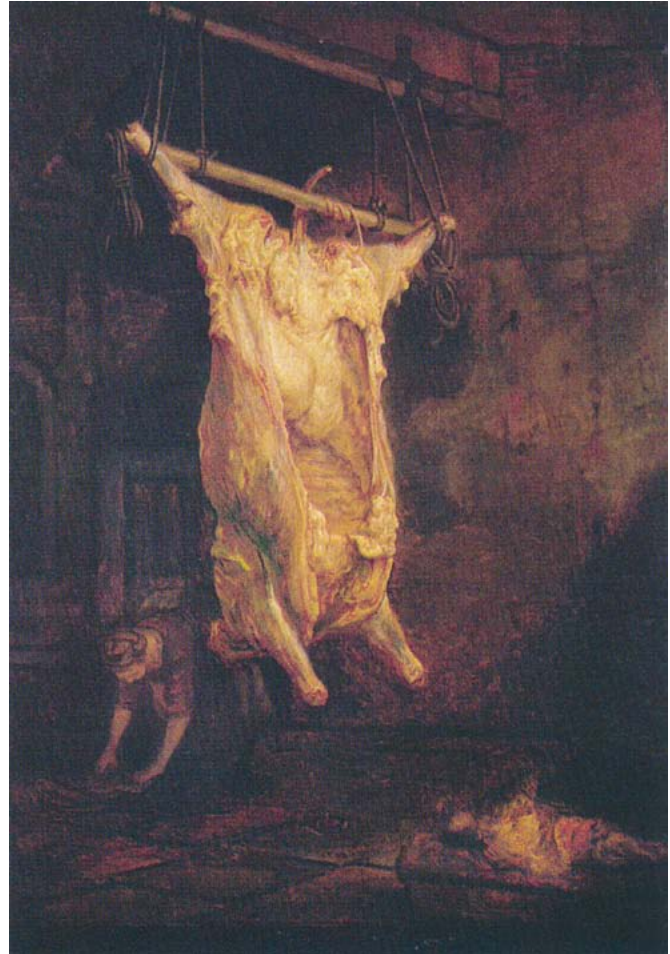
Throughout his oeuvre, Rembrandt focused primarily on human subjects and human events. Yet he is unusual among the Dutch for the breadth of his interests. Rembrandt's artistic production embodied van Mander's embrace of the full variety of nature. In addition to portraiture and histories, Rembrandt's oeuvre contains etchings and drawings of animals, whether from the farmyard, house, or menagerie. His painted history scenes often introduce them as accessories, or what the ancients called

parerga.⁷⁹ Elizabeth Sutton has emphasized the ubiquity of dogs, considered as animals that tell us much about nature in all its aspects, including human nature.⁸⁰ Rembrandt also painted birds as *natures mortes*: his *Dead Bittern* (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) and *Two Dead Peacocks* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), both 1639.

Intriguingly, Rembrandt's studio inventory of 1656 lists 'a small [painting of an] ox [...] as studied from life'.⁸¹ The entry's emphasis on observation would have extended to all these works, including an evocative, sketchy drawing of c. 1655 recording his direct encounter of a slaughterhouse at night, in this case a carcass rendered frontally [Fig. 6].⁸² Years before, he produced a drawing of butchers at work on a carcass, again probably after life, as his detailed inscription indicates: *t vel daer aen ende voorts de rest bysleepende* ([leaving] the hide on and then pulling the rest along) [Fig. 12].⁸³ But the Louvre's painted Ox is unique in its focus on a single, massive animal, dead, center-stage, and imbued with powerful agency.

Animal behaviour had long provided apt comparisons with or contrasts to human behaviour. Legends, fables, epigrams, anecdotes, and emblems about animals – often derived from classical antiquity – thrived throughout the Renaissance and beyond. Cattle were no exception. Van Mander devoted an entire chapter (IX) in his *Grondt* to animals and birds, including verses on farmyard beasts.⁸⁴ He and other theorists advocated their introduction into paintings for variety and diversity. At least one specific reason for rendering oxen may have related to Pausias, whom van Mander referenced frequently as an ancient renowned for his renderings of all aspects of nature. In chapter IX, he cited Pausias's legendary depiction of an ox bound for sacrifice as an anecdote about the power of illusionistic painting and a reminder of how certain representational techniques could render a form's bulk naturalistically.⁸⁵ Rubens paid homage to this legend in the ancient scene of sacrifice that decorated his house.⁸⁶ By representing a dead ox, Rembrandt responded to an entirely different artistic tradition: preexisting imagery of the hanging, slaughtered animal of quotidian reality. But perhaps in conscious emulation of Pausias's skill, he displayed the ox with striking naturalism, and positioned it at an angle that could best demonstrate the animal's raw visual presence. If so, Rembrandt combined awareness of contemporary theory and homage to antiquity with direct observation.

As in the Deijman anatomy lesson and other examples of his late style, Rembrandt applied his paint 'roughly' to create a sculpted surface of formal masses.⁸⁷ Yet the *Slaughtered Ox* suggests direct optical experience of detail: the textures, colours, and anatomy of the carcass and the means by which it has been eviscerated. In accordance with his radical commitment to the 'from life' ideology, Rembrandt emphasized scrutiny of ordinary, unembellished life. The beast hangs from a wooden spar by ropes and (perhaps) strings of sinew. A short rod, secured



16. Rembrandt Circle, «Slaughtered Ox», c. early 1640s, oil on panel, 73.5 × 52 cm, Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum. Photo: Wikimedia Commons

by pegs, widens the cavity to cool the animal down and allow the butcher to pull out the viscera, not all of which have been removed. That widening of the gutted body allows viewers to see as well. The darkened room is articulated by rafters that complement the geometry of the ox, yet counter the shallow arch of the panel's curved top.

The beast's striking presence is accentuated further by Rembrandt's use of pastose pigments and saturated reds throughout the carcass. The thick paint creates an impression of low relief that captures attention immediately. Consistent, too, with his painterly practice, Rembrandt has also used subtle gradations of colours and tones in the middle ground to create the illusion of space.⁸⁸

The beast's bulk is enhanced further by the secondary focus, the small woman of ambiguous status peering from behind a half door. Significantly, she is no peasant bent over her task of washing up, but a member of the same class as the painting's likely audience. Standing upright, clad in an up-to-date head covering and wide white sleeves, she keeps a safe distance from the carcass.⁸⁹ The stairs leading down from the woman's level and the stone and brick walls suggest a structure connected with a relatively upscale house.⁹⁰ The floor bears hints of blood; carcasses were bled immediately after killing, although they continued to hang for a period of time, in accordance with recommendations in cookbooks and husbandry manuals.⁹¹ But compare these mere hints with the ample pooling of blood in the smaller Rembrandtesque panel in Glasgow of around 1640 [Fig. 16].⁹² In that picture, a peasant woman vigorously labours to mop up blood in the background. There the ox's hide and head define the foreground of a lofty interior with an arched door to the left and masonry floor underneath. Another yet smaller Rembrandtesque *Slaughtered Ox* in Budapest, dated 1639, likewise includes blood and a *repoussoir* still life of head, horns, and hide.⁹³

Neither image enthralls the viewer as Rembrandt's *Ox* does. The carcass appears to gleam by radiant lighting amidst the *chiaroscuro*. Rembrandt's signature *facture* increases the abstraction of the form, loosening the paint to loosen the boundaries of the body. This gives the dead beast a livelier, more wondrous presence than it possessed when alive. Even as a carcass, this ox expresses a sense of animal agency and power. At the same time, no other animal painting so palpably celebrates its creator's brilliance. Endorsing his own achievement, the artist boldly signed this panel, just as he did his history paintings.

An Oddity for Rembrandt

We have little information about the owners of any of these slaughtered ox pictures beyond a very few inventory references. Most were presumably painted for the open market, where a grazier or merchant might have been drawn to the subject. But the imagery attracted many others. Rembrandt himself owned an *ossie van Lasman* ('little ox by Pieter Lastman'), whose death in 1633 provides a *terminus ante quem*.⁹⁴ A member of Rembrandt's circle, the artist Lambert Doomer, owned an 'os van Rembrandt'.⁹⁵ This supports scholarly opinion that Rembrandt, later in his career, might well have had a good idea about his audience, many of whom possessed a certain level of education and artistic sophistication.⁹⁶ Whether this was the case with specific Amsterdam merchants cannot be determined. These included Pieter Cronenburgh who possessed *een geslagen os van Rembrandt* as well as several landscapes with oxen (1674). Pieter de Vos likewise owned a depiction of an ox by Rembrandt

(1681).⁹⁷ Even closer to the date of Rembrandt's *Slaughtered Ox*, a *geslachten osch van Rembrandt* was recorded in 1661 in the possession of Christoffel Hirschvogel, a German barber-surgeon who had recently resided in Amsterdam. It is not difficult to imagine Hirschvogel's interest in such a picture arising from his surgical training in anatomy, along with a general attention to butcher/anatomist commonalities.⁹⁸

Rembrandt's interest in producing a major 'still life' of a dead animal is more surprising. Because the *Slaughtered Ox* is such a unicorn in his oeuvre, we cannot ignore the picture's timing in relation to Dr Deijman's appointment (1653) as *praelector* of the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild. The Guild's previous commission for an anatomy lesson had gone to Rembrandt, whose canvas commemorated Dr. Tulp's dissection of 1632. By 1653, however, Rembrandt's fortunes had come under threat from many sides. He might well have considered a Guild commission concerning death to be financially life-preserving. Present-day scholars can rarely trace a direct line from Rembrandt's personal predicaments to a particular work by the artist.⁹⁹ But here, as Margaret Carroll has hypothesized, the anticipated commission for the anatomy piece might have prompted Rembrandt to work out carcass/corpse contiguities in the *Slaughtered Ox*.¹⁰⁰

The conceptual leap from 'dead ox' to 'dead man' is not so huge, after all. Pia Cuneo has argued persuasively that humans have been using animals since the start of the early modern period 'for representational work and for self-definition', that is, 'to say something about themselves'.¹⁰¹ And this *Ox* provided a vivid verification of the artist's power. His virtuoso, 'rough' handling of paint made him not only the 'Dutch Titian' but also a modern-day Pausias, whose brush could summon forth a human corpse no less arresting than this remarkable carcass.¹⁰²

Whether or not the *Slaughtered Ox* functioned as preparatory for the Deijman picture in some yet-to-be determined way, it surely demonstrated a break with pictorial tradition. As Sluijter has remarked generally (quoting Franciscus Junius), Rembrandt often made new arguments with old material.¹⁰³ Similarities with the South Holland kitchen and farmstead pieces abound: the carcass itself, the choice of tonality, the roughcast setting. But his contemporaries' interiors are filled with rustic accessories and humble fare. By eschewing these, Rembrandt immediately slips out of the farmstead category. By narrowing his focus, the artist has broadened interpretation, rendering his subject more general, more open-ended, more provocative and conducive to discussion. Here the setting is indeterminate, and the ox – centred, tightly circumscribed by the wooden apparatus, and situated close to the picture plane – is a massive, illuminated presence, alone but for one human observer. That woman (just a fragment of a complete figure) plays but a supporting role to the animal, in a clear reversal of usual Dutch practice. The painting as a whole argues for the legitimacy, the potency, of the animal subject itself.

Rembrandt's novel treatment of this subject recalls his iconographic approach in any number of Biblical and mythological paintings. A single figure is separated from its traditional narrative context to represent more general concepts. Such a strategy can be observed earliest in *Andromeda* (1631, Amsterdam) and later in pictures exactly contemporary with the *Slaughtered Ox: Bathsheba* (1654, Paris) and *Woman Wading in a Pond* (Callisto?) (1654, London).¹⁰⁴ Here again he pared away the extraneous to concentrate on what matters most. Essentially, Rembrandt has made the *Slaughtered Ox* into a history painting. Heightening the effect, he has even placed the scene in an arched format, which isolates and elevates it above our everyday world.

Most viewers in the seventeenth century (as today) approached the rendering of an animal carcass with expectations markedly different from those they brought to history painting. The context for the one was primarily anecdotal and experiential; for the other it was literary and often learned. The *Slaughtered Ox* confounded expectations. Rembrandt's focusing yet generalizing technique inevitably moved the viewer toward a more complex response. The painting allowed no single convincing, anecdotal reading, but rather encouraged viewers into active

looking, what Larry Goedde has termed 'participatorial viewing'.¹⁰⁵ Faced with a very large, very dead yet splendid carcass and minimal human presence, audience members would have been prompted to make sense of the overlapping, intersecting, contradictory contexts.

Forced back on themselves, viewers might have probed the ox's pictorial tradition and age-old associations with domestic provision and the generosity of nature. They might have recalled current butchering and dissection practices, or the ox's links with class, or husbandry manuals and anatomical treatises. They might have contemplated theological responses to the immanence of death, and both traditional and recent discussions of human-animal relationships in a deeply interconnected natural world.

Then as now, the inherent multivalency of this picture demands a layered response. Yet Rembrandt invited his audience – invites us – to look beyond the image to see the hand that created it, to admire his upending of the standard formula, his transformation of tradition according to his own vision. This brilliantly executed ox makes a powerful statement while posing an unavoidable question: did the artist see in his creation a metaphor for its creator?

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Abbreviations:

Ben.—O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, 6 vols, London, 1954–1957 [vols I–II, 1954; III–IV, 1955; V–VI, 1957], 2nd edn enlarged and ed. by E. Benesch, London and New York, 1973

Holl.—F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, c. 1450–1700*, Amsterdam, 1947–

Simon — M. Simon, *Claes Jansz. Visscher*, PhD diss., University of Fribourg, 1958

¹ The Kleine Vleeshal (Small Meat Hall) in the Nes housed the sale of meat on the ground floor and on the upper floor the Surgeons' Guild headquarters and two rhetorician chambers. In 1619, the Surgeons' Guild relocated to the St. Antoniswaag, Nieuwmarkt, where in 1624 an anatomy theatre was built inside the guild hall. In 1639, the guild moved dissections back to the Kleine Vleeshal. On the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild, see N. Middelkoop, "Large and magnificent paintings, all pertaining to the Chirurgeon's art". The Art Collection of the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild', in N. Middelkoop et al., *Rembrandt under the Scalpel. The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp Dissected*, The Hague & Amsterdam, 1998, pp. 9–10, 26–27.

² Holl. 146, Simon 149. My thanks to Hans Luijten for help in interpreting the poem.

*Vleys-hallen twee, siet ghy hier veel vorsien
Van veel schoon vleysch, soo buyten als van binnen
In overvloedt, dat men nau can versinnen,
Waer het al blijft, 'tgeen brengen hier de Lien
Comt vrouwkens vry, wilt hier u gheltd besteden,
Coopt wat u lust, en wat u wel behaeght,
Want van dit vleysch de Man gheen' hoornen draeght;
Die reyn in comt, die sal oock reyn uyt treden,
Vraeght ghy, wat volck dat daer om hooght is?
'T zijn chiururgijns, die wonden maken fris,
In d'Edel Const sy worden onderwesen
Red'rijckers soet hier comen oock byeen;
D'een doet de wond' van t' Menschen lichaem scheen,
De and're pooght de Ziele to ghenezen.*

Two Meat Halls you see here, amply stocked with
A lot of fine flesh, outside as well as inside
Such an abundance, that one could hardly imagine,
Where everything that has been shipped in will go
Be welcome, women, spend your money here,
Buy what attracts you and really pleases you,
Because it's safe to taste this flesh – you won't be misled. [Literally:
Because when consuming this flesh a man won't bear any horns;
a reference to the well-known *hoorndrager*, a sexually deceived
husband]
Whoever enters pure, will go out pure [another sexual *double
entendre*],
You ask what kind of people [work] upstairs?

They are surgeons who heal wounds,
To teach the Noble Art [of surgery and anatomy]
Rhetoricians assemble splendid poems here as well;
One [the surgeon] tries to clean wounds of the human body,
The other [the rhetorician] tries to heal the soul.

³ For the most up-to-date entry, E. van de Wetering, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. V, text trans. and ed. by M. Pearson, catalogue trans. by J. Kilian, K. Kist, Dordrecht, 2011, cat. no. V 21 (hereafter *Corpus V*).

⁴ *Corpus VI*, p. 246. Deijman performed the dissection of 1656 upstairs in the Kleine Vleeshal. Because the guild's headquarters remained in the Antoniswaag, their group portraits, including Tulp's and Deijman's dissections, hung there.

⁵ *De oude meesters van de stad Amsterdam. Schilderijen voor 1800*, ed. by N. E. Middelkoop, Amsterdam, 2008, pp. 118–119; also J. Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Retouches aan ons Rembrandt-beeld, 1: de zoogenaamde voorstudie voor de *Anatomische les van Dr. Deyman*', *Oud Holland*, 65, 1950, pp. 171–178.

⁶ C. Commelin, *Beschryving der stad Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1665, fol. 128.

⁷ Before applying paint to canvas, Rembrandt sketched the composition and frame to show the panel in relation to the architecture of the surgeons' headquarters in the Anthoniswaag. See Middelkoop et al., *Rembrandt under the Scalpel*, pp. 26–27; N. E. Middelkoop, *De anatomische les van Dr. Deijman*, Amsterdam, 1994. Rembrandt's first observation of the (presumably) refurbished theatre came around 1655–1656.

⁸ D. Pesta, 'Resurrecting Vivisection: Michelangelo among the Anatomists', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 45, 2014, p. 932.

⁹ Karel van Mander, *Den grondt, der edel vry schilderconst*, ed., with commentary by H. Miedema, Utrecht, 1973, Ch. IX. Also Ch. II, no. 14 and Ch. IV, no. 9. See, too, S. R. Cohen, 'Life and Death in the Northern European Game Piece', in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, ed. by K. Enenkel and P. J. Smith, Leiden and Boston, 2007, p. 619.

¹⁰ For full provenance, see J. Foucart, *Le siècle de Rembrandt*, exh. cat. Paris, Petit Palais, Paris, 1971, cat. no. 179, and *Corpus V*.

¹¹ R. Baldwin, 'Thoughts on the Slaughtered Pig in Renaissance and Baroque Art: from Courtly Cosmos to Burgher Prosperity' (<<http://www.socialhistoryofart.com/Themes/Baldwin%20Slaughtered%20Pig%20and%20Slaughtered%20Ox%20in%20Northern%20Renaissance%20and%20Baroque%20Art.doc>>, accessed on 29 March 2009). Van der Poel's *Interior with Slaughtered Pig*, Calvin College; the carcass was painted over by a later owner.

¹² C. Scallen, *Rembrandt, Reputation, and the Practice of Connoisseurship*, Amsterdam, 2004, p. 140, on the 1898 Rembrandt exhibition at the Rijksmuseum. For Delacroix's copy after Rembrandt's painting, see P. ten Doesschate Chu, *French Realism and the Dutch Masters*, Utrecht, 1974, p. 42, n. 1. For Daumier's response, see B. Lemann, 'Two Daumier Drawings', *Bulletin of the Fogg Art Museum*, 6, 1 (November) 1936, pp. 13–17.

¹³ For François Bonvin's copy, see Chu, *French Realism*, p. 42, fig. 70; also G. P. Weisberg, *Bonvin*, traduction française et adaptation d'A. Wattea, Paris, 1979, cat. no. 96. For mid nineteenth-century French enthusiasm for Rembrandt, see A. McQueen, *The Rise of the Cult of Rembrandt*,

- Reinventing an Old Master in Nineteenth-Century France*, Amsterdam, 2003.
- 14 J. Emmens, 'Reputation and Meaning of Rembrandt's *Slaughtered Ox*', *Kunsthistorische Opstellen*, vol. IV, Amsterdam, 1981, p. 112 (translation of 'Reputatie en Betekenis van Rembrandts Geslachte Ox').
- 15 A. M. Hind, *Rembrandt being the substance of the Charles Eliot Norton lectures delivered before Harvard University, 1930–1931*, Boston, 1932.
- 16 Van Gogh, Letter to Emile Bernard, 29 July 1888 (<<http://vangoghletters.org/vg/letters/let649/letter.html#n-8>>, accessed on 2 Jan. 2019). Although van Gogh likely appreciated the subject matter as well, no written record exists.
- 17 In the 1950s Francis Bacon found inspiration in the *Ox* for his images focused on worldly decadence and carnal sensuality, for example, *Figure with Meat*, 1954, Chicago, Art Institute.
- 18 C. Sterling, *Still life Painting from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, New York, 1959, p. 75.
- 19 K. Clark, *An Introduction to Rembrandt*, New York, 1978, p. 114: 'The flayed ox has become a tragic – one might almost say a religious picture'. Similarly, J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt*, 3rd edn, London, 1968, p. 265.
- 20 K. Bendiner, *Food in Painting: from the Renaissance to the Present*, London, 2004, p. 40; see also *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, ed. by J. Bruyn et al., Boston and The Hague, 1982, vol. III, cat. no. C 122, pp. 766–770, and *Corpus V*, cat. no. V 21.
- 21 H. Cixous and C. A. F. MacGillivray (trans.), 'Bathsheba or the Interior Bible', *New Literary History*, 24, 4 (Autumn) 1993, pp. 833–835.
- 22 E. de Jongh, 'Realisme en schijnrealisme in de Hollandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw', in H. R. Hoetink et al., *Rembrandt en zijn tijd*, exh. cat. Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, Brussels, 1971, pp. 169–171, esp. n. 106 referring to Rembrandt's two depictions. Also E. de Jongh, *Tot lering en vermak, betekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, exh. cat., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1976, cat. no. 24. Translation of the introductory essay: E. de Jongh and M. Hoyle, *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth-century Painting*, Leiden, 2000.
- 23 De Jongh, 'Realisme en schijnrealisme', n. 106 (on Rembrandt's *Slaughtered Ox* in Paris); de Jongh, *Tot lering en vermak*, cat. no. 24 (Barent Fabritius's *Slaughtered Pig*, Rotterdam), pp. 116–117. His remarks are applied to slaughter scenes in general.
- 24 K. Craig, 'Rembrandt and *The Slaughtered Ox*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 46, 1983, pp. 235–239: Rembrandt's *Ox* was a reminder of sin and death and God's forgiveness. Craig made an analogy to Philip Galle's print after Maerten van Heemskerck of slaughter connected with the return of the Prodigal Son.
- 25 A. W. G. Posèq, 'A Proposal for Rembrandt's Two Versions of *Slaughtered Ox*', *Artibus et Historiae*, no. 60, 2009, p. 272.
- 26 *Corpus V*, p. 560. Although de Decker celebrated several of Rembrandt's paintings in verse, he probably did not write this poem in response to Rembrandt's *Ox*.
- 27 Cohen, 'Life and Death', pp. 616–618, and S. Koslow, *Frans Snyders, the Noble Estate, Seventeenth-Century Still-Life and Animal Painting in the Southern Netherlands*, Antwerp, 1995, pp. 31–32. Montaigne inverted the human-animal hierarchy implicit in Western philosophy.
- 28 Koslow, *Frans Snyders*, p. 173 and note 239, with reference to C. D. O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964, p. 117. Less positively, Vesalius disparaged earlier anatomists: a 'butcher in his stall' could teach more than such a physician' (O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius*, p. 50).
- 29 Pesta, 'Resurrecting vivisection', p. 929.
- 30 On animal dissection, R. French, *Dissection and Vivisection in the European Renaissance*, Aldershot & Brookfield, 1999, Ch. 6.
- 31 T. Huisman, *Finger of God, Anatomical Practice in 17th-century Leiden*, Leiden, 2009, p. 28.
- 32 Middelkoop, *De anatomische les van Dr. Deijman*, fig. 12. The drawing (Ben. 728) is often dated c. 1649–1650: pen in brown, Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum. Alternatively, Middelkoop has suggested that the Amsterdam anatomy theatre included the rider-skeleton that Rembrandt sketched, though nothing is known about the interior's appearance.
- 33 Cohen, 'Life and Death'; A. Carlino, *Books of the Body. Anatomical Ritual and Renaissance Learning*, trans. by J. Tedeschi and A. C. Tedeschi, Chicago, 1994; A. Guerrini, *Experimenting with Humans and Animals from Galen to Animal Rights*, Baltimore & London, 2003, pp. 23–47; J. Scarborough, 'Galen's Dissection of the Elephant', *KOROTH*, 8, no. 11–12, 1985, pp. 123–134.
- 34 Cohen, 'Life and Death', pp. 606–608. See also N. Wolloch, 'Dead Animals and the Beast-Machine: Seventeenth-century Netherlandish Paintings of Dead Animals, as Anti-Cartesian Statements', *Art History*, 22, 1999, pp. 705–727, who argues that Netherlandish artists encouraged sympathy with animals over the violence of their deaths; Guerrini, *Experimenting with Humans*, pp. 34–37, for a summary of the Cartesian position; and E. Sutton, 'Dogs and Dogma: Perception and Revelation in Rembrandt's *Presentation in the Temple*, c. 1640', *Art History*, 39, 2016, pp. 15–16.
- 35 Roger French observes that anatomists 'saw that this human group-feeling came close to being overturned in the case of malefactors whom society had declared no longer merited inclusion in the group of living human beings....', *Dissection and vivisection*, p. 122; see also Pesta, 'Resurrecting vivisection', p. 929.
- 36 F. Coiter, *Externarum et internarum principalium humani corporis partium tabulae, atque anatomicae exercitationes, observationesque variae*, Nuremberg, 1572. The full quote reads: 'they pronounce it repugnant to handle the part of a dead person contaminated with blood and excrement. To which, I answer as follows: repugnance should be gauged by the soul, not the body; a little water can wash away the body's excrement, but the entire ocean cannot wash away the soul's ignorance. [...]', from the introduction titled *De anatomiae utilitatibus*, quoted by Carlino, *Books of the Body*, p. 224. See also Carlino's comments on the selection of criminals and marginal people for cadavers, pp. 92–94.
- 37 Catchpenny prints condense the image: for example, the butcher in *Fifteen Trades*, J. Noman (publisher), probably eighteenth century after a seventeenth-century original, woodcut, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (Collection Waller N), no. 259. The inscription: 'Men ziet aan 't Bug [piglet], al is het klein | Wat dat het voor een zwijn zal zijn' (One sees the piglet, although it is small | What kind of swine shall that be). See M. de Meyer, *De Volks- en kinderprent van de 15e Nederlanden tot de 20e eeuw*, Antwerp, 1962, p. 547.

- 38 Matt Rand, Professor of Biology, Carleton College, suggested that the pegs visible in seventeenth-century depictions of ox carcasses pinned up the fat to hasten cooling and segregate intestines from edible parts.
- 39 Karel van Mander, *Schilderboek* [facsimile of the first edition, Haarlem, 1604], Utrecht, 1969, *Van de wtbeeldingen der figueren [...] met de beeldinghe der dieren, het vercken*, fol. 129^r.
- 40 Van Mander, *Schilderboek*, fol. 128^r. The animal is also associated with the evangelist Luke.
- 41 V. Buyens, 'A Zoological Emblem Book, Willem van der Borcht's *Sedighe Sinne-beelden* (1642)', in *Early Modern Zoology*, pp. 547–566; W. Franz, *The History of Brutes*, London, 1670 (English translation of *Historia animalium*, 1612), Ch. 13. On emblems featuring oxen, see A. Henkel, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1967, pp. 527–531. Also *Meesterlijk vee. Nederlandse veeschilders 1600–1900*, ed. by C. Boschma, exh. cat., Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum & Leeuwarden, Fries Museum, Zwolle, 1988, pp. 35–40.
- 42 Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen (attributed), *Ox Won at the Parrot Shoot*, 1564, Amsterdam Museum, in the Grootkamersgild's room in the Amsterdam City Hall. The winner was 'king' of the guild for the year.
- 43 The Delft archives contain notes on the prices of cattle (1620s) bought by butchers from farmers around Delft, averaging: pigs: 8–16 guilders, cows: 50–53 guilders, oxen: c. 80 guilders. Delft butchers apparently found their oxen in the immediate neighborhood of the city. Kind information from Frans Grijzenhout.
- 44 K. Glamann, 'European Trade 1500–1750', in *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, vol. 2: *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by C. Cipolla, London, 1974, pp. 443–463; also A. de Maddalena, 'Rural Europe 1500–1750', in the same volume. And especially W. Gijsbers, *Kapitale ossen. De internationale handel in slachtvee in Noordwest Europa (1300–1750) / Capital Oxen. The International Trade in Slaughter Oxen in NW Europe (1300–1750)*, Hilversum, 1999, p. 199; W. Gijsbers, 'Danish Oxen in Dutch Meadows: Beef Cattle Trading and Grazieri in the Netherlands Between 1580 and 1750', in *Facing the North Sea. West Jutland and the World* (Proceedings of the Ribe Conference, 6–8 April 1992), ed. by M. Gundberg, P. Holm, P. K. Madsen (Fiskeri-og Søfartsmuseets studieserie no. 2), Esbjerg, 1993, pp. 129–148; W. Gijsbers and B. Lambooi, 'Oxen for the Axe. A Contemporary View on Historical Long-distance Livestock Transport', in *By, marsk og geest*, 17, 2005, pp. 58–79. Also Charles Stevens (Estienne), *Maison rustique*, London, 1616, pp. 90–114; J. Le Francq van Berkhey, *Natuurlijke historie van Holland*, Amsterdam, 1769–1811, Pt 6 (1807), Ch. 5, p. 278.
- 45 *Magere beestenmarkt*. For the Leiden rhetorician Pieter Cornelisz. van der Mersch's poem about his profession of fattening livestock, see J. Koppenol, 'Noah's Ark Disembarked in Holland', in *Early Modern Zoology*, pp. 467–468.
- 46 Gijsbers, *Kapitale ossen*, p. 234. Vondel's 1657 comment about a visit to Denmark was perhaps a jest: 'Och Heer, wil mij verlossen, Van deze Deensche ossen...'. See *De complete werken van Joost van Vondel*, ed. by H. J. Allard, 's-Hertogenbosch & Amsterdam 1870, vol. II, p. 299.
- 47 For a summary of the factors ensuring a powerful demand for Danish beef cattle, see Gijsbers, 'Danish Oxen', p. 134. Also J. de Vries, *The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age*, New Haven, 1974, pp. 137–140, 137, on the highest earning butchers; and J. de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815*, Cambridge & New York, 1997, pp. 573–574. For an account of both the Amsterdam *ossenmarkt* and the sale of beef in the Grote and Kleine Vleeshallen, see R. Kistemaker, *et al.*, *Amsterdam Marktstad*, Amsterdam, 1984, pp. 36–42.
- 48 Jan Luiken, *Het menselyk bedryf*, Amsterdam, 1694, no. 43. See D. Barnes, *Butcher, Baker, Candlestick Maker: Jan Luyken's Mirrors of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Daily Life*, exh. cat. Hofstra Museum, Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY, 1995, pp. 110–111. Luiken pictured the exterior of a similar butcher shop receiving sheep for slaughter in his emblem 'Het Slagers Huis, Qua'e voorgang, doet doolen', in *De bye korf des gemoeds*, Amsterdam, 1711, p. 182. See R. Spruit and D. R. Barnes, *Food for Thought*, exh. cat., Westfries Museum, 2010–2011, [Midwoud, 2010], p. 26.
- 49 H. Bevers, *Rembrandt. Die Zeichnungen im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett. Kritischer Katalog*, Berlin, 2006, no. 48. The locale is as difficult to identify here as in the Louvre picture.
- 50 According to Dutch ordinances and regulations, municipal authorities wanted sales centralized in cities' meat halls – they regulated times of operation, safety and freshness of the meat. See Jan Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst...*, Amsterdam, 1765, Deel 4, pp. 75–77. And Hermanus Noordkerk, *Handvesten: ofte privilegien ende octroyen*, Amsterdam, 1748, p. 173. Van der Heyden's painting shows the small *vleeshal* (with its portico) to the left of the large *Westerhal* which served as a *wachthuis* for the civic guard. By contrast, slaughtering animals for domestic consumption took place in small, privately owned butcheries, that is, the butchers' premises. For example, J. G. van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildewezen van Amsterdam*, The Hague, 1929, vol. II, p. 211, no. 348. This by contrast with practices in other western European countries which even in pre-Enlightenment times saw reform in the movement to public abattoirs. On the decentralized slaughter practices of early modern Amsterdam, P. A. Koolmees, *Symbolen van openbare hygiëne: gemeentelijke slachthuizen in Nederland 1795–1940*, Rotterdam, 1997, pp. 63–66.
- 51 Carcasses hang on hooks outside the *Grote Vleeshal* in a print of 1663. See Middelkoop, *De anatomische les van Dr. Deijman*, fig. 11. Also Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst*, Deel 3, p. 132, on slaughter time, 15 October – 25 December. Presumably the sheer volume of animals slaughtered in the late autumn necessitated a break from usual practice that meat must be sold exclusively in the meat halls. See also van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis*, vol. II, p. 211, no. 348.
- 52 Pieter van den Berge, *Interior of the Grote Vleeshal*, c. 1690, in R. Kistemaker, *et al.*, *Amsterdam Marktstad*, p. 42.
- 53 J. L. van Zanden, 'De economie van Holland in de periode 1650–1805: groei of achteruitgang? Een overzicht van bronnen, problemen en resultaten', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 102, 1987, 4, pp. 562–609; and Gijsbers, 'Danish Oxen in Dutch Meadows', pp. 142–143.
- 54 Even a successful butcher might turn grazier if he was fortunate enough to own land.
- 55 The VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, The Dutch East India Company) and WIC (*Westindische Compagnie*, The Dutch West India Company). In such instances, only the surplus went to the Amsterdam *ossenmarkt*. Gijsbers, *Kapitale ossen*, p. 139, and van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis*, vol. II, pp. 69, 78, 144, 1217 and 1285. The central abattoir for VOC ships slaughtered thousands of oxen for large merchant vessels. See H. van Woesik, 'Krantenartikel: Prima als slager eigen vlees

- keurt?' (<http://www.zuiderzeehoorn.nl/nw-27093-7-3515733/nieuws/krantenartikel_prima_als_slager_eigen_vlees_keurt.html>, accessed on 3 Jan. 2018).
- 56 Gijsbers, *Kapitale ossen*, pp. 239–240, and pp. 245–251 on the Goede Mannen, an organization of Amsterdam graziers. These were the types of city men who held administrative positions in the VOC or WIC; a large number owned houses on the Herengracht and Keizersgracht. Simon van Leeuwen described *ossenweiders* (graziers) as 'Stee-luyden' (city people) and "'uyden van gelegenheid'" (people of opportunity), 'die of haar eygen Land, of ook wel ingehuyrt Land van andre, met magere Beesten [...] of met magere Ossen besetten, en om hun plaisier beweyden en vet maken' (who on their own land or on rented land graze lean beasts, at their pleasure, to make them fat), Simon van Leeuwen, *Batavia Illustrata, ofte verhandelinge van den oorspronk, voortgank, zeden...*, The Hague, 1685, vol. I, p. 372. This by contrast with his characterization of ordinary farmers as 'Koe-boeren' (cow farmers), who belonged to the 'domste en botste sort' (dumbest and most bone-headed sort).
- 57 G. Keyes et al., *Masters of Dutch Painting, the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 2004, cat. no. 41. Since dogs are a mainstay of slaughter scenes (scrounging for discarded viscera), the sleeping dog here adds an ironic touch: he waits patiently for the ox's demise.
- 58 On the oriel projecting outwards, see H. Wagner, *Jan van der Heyden 1637–1712*, Amsterdam & Haarlem, 1971, p. 112.
- 59 C. Vial, *Het vetmesten der runderen; bevattende alles wat daarop betrekking heft*, trans. and ed. by A. Körte and F. C. Hekmeijer, Utrecht, 1868, pp. 173–180. My thanks to Wilma Gijsbers for this reference and for all her help with this section. Perhaps van der Heyden was also aware of van Mander's recommendation about the look of an ox's dewlap: *Den grondt*, Ch. IX, no. 31 (Miedema edn, 1973, vol. I, p. 229).
- 60 'so ducaten geel van kleur dat geen schilder het fraayer kan schilderen', Gijsbers, *Kapitale ossen*, p. 239.
- 61 On Potter's huge bull – rather than an ox (Mauritshuis, 1647) – see A. Walsh et al., *Paulus Potter: Paintings, Drawings and Etchings*, exh. cat. The Hague, Mauritshuis, 1994–1995, The Hague, 1994, cat. nos: 8, 74–77. Emile Reznicek ('Het leerdicht van Karel van Mander en de acribie van Hessel Miedema', *Oud Holland*, 89, 1975, p. 121) argued that Potter set himself up as the new Pausias (see notes 85 and 86). Potter also published a book of etchings including oxen. Nicolaes Berchem painted a highly unusual scene of oxen pulling a plough (probably referencing the east of the Dutch Republic), c. 1650–1655, National Gallery, London. See *Class Distinctions. Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer*, ed. by R. Baer, exh. cat., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2015, cat. no. 54. Medieval miniatures of labours of the months frequently illustrated oxen and swine for November, with live animals for sale or marched to slaughter, rather than as hanging carcasses. See W. Hansen, *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher: Mittelalterliches Leben im Jahreslauf*, Munich, 1984, nos 267–286.
- 62 Baldwin, 'Thoughts', includes the engraving November of a splayed pig by C. de Passe (after Marten de Vos), 1600–1625. Print series continue slaughter imagery into the seventeenth century, for example Jan van de Velde's seasonal print for November, Holl. 69.
- 63 See *Corpus V*, p. 556, for seventeenth-century probate inventories mentioning paintings of oxen as well as images of slaughtered pigs. For further examples of slaughter scenes, see W. Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler in vier Bänden*, Landau, 1983, vol. II, no. 500, no. 595; vol. III, no. 1375, vol. IV, no. 1790.
- 64 Pieter Aertsen, *Meat Stall with the Holy Family Giving Alms*, Uppsala University Art Collections; North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, NC; private collection, Amsterdam; Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht. Interpretations of these paintings include: E. M. Kavaler, 'Pieter Aertsen's *Meat Stall*: Divers Aspects of the Market Piece', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 40, 1989, pp. 67–92; R. Falckenburg, 'Matters of Taste: Pieter Aertsen's Market Scenes, Eating Habits, and Pictorial Rhetoric in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Object as Subject: Studies in the Interpretation of Still Life*, ed. by A. W. Lowenthal, Princeton, 1996, pp. 13–27; M. Sullivan, 'Aertsen's Kitchen and Market Scenes', *Art Bulletin*, 81, no. 2, 1999, pp. 236–266; C. Houghton, 'This Was Tomorrow: Pieter Aertsen's "Meat Stall" as Contemporary Art', *Art Bulletin*, 86, no. 2, 2004, pp. 277–300.
- 65 Rembrandt's inventory lists a large book of prints by Breugel the Elder. See W. L. Strauss and M. van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents*, New York, 1979, no. 204, 1656.
- 66 Herman Saftleven, *Farmstead Interior*, 41 × 57.7 cm, oil on panel, 1634, Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium. For an illustration and commentary, see A. M. Kettering, 'The Rustic Still Life in Dutch Genre Painting: *Bijwerck dat Verclaert*', in *New Perspectives on Early Modern Northern European Genre Imagery*, ed. by A. DiFuria, Abingdon & New York, 2016, p. 188 and fig. 8:4.
- 67 *Interior of a Farmhouse*, dated 1644, oil on panel, 46.99 × 63.5 cm, Minneapolis Institute of Arts.
- 68 I. Ember, *Old Masters Gallery Catalogues, Szépművészeti Múzeum Budapest*, vol. II: *Dutch and Flemish Still Lifes 1600–1800*, Budapest, 2011, cat. no. 66.
- 69 Cohen, 'Life and Death', pp. 603–636.
- 70 Van den Hecken's canvas measures 114 × 98 cm; Rembrandt's panel 94 × 67 cm; Victors's painting (1648, Rijksmuseum) 80 × 99 cm; one in York 93 × 87 cm.
- 71 The motif of an inflated bladder originated in sixteenth-century carcass pictures, as indicated earlier.
- 72 Foucart, *Le siècle de Rembrandt*, cat. no. 179.
- 73 Baldwin, 'Thoughts'.
- 74 The size of the picture and the detailed description of the carcass suggest a commission, a tempting possibility in light of van den Hecken's professional connection with Joachim Beck. Beck was a Danish merchant living in Amsterdam in the early 1650s, who commissioned two portraits from van den Hecken (1653), around the time of his dispute with a fellow Dane linked with the oxen trade; Gijsbers, *Kapitale ossen*, p. 344.
- 75 J. Swabe, *The Burden of Beasts: A Historical Sociological Study of Changing Human-Animal Relations and the Rise of the Veterinary Regime*, PhD diss., Amsterdam, 1997, pp. 8–9. Also E. Fudge, 'Saying Nothing Concerning the same: On Dominion, Purity and Meat in Early Modern England', in *Renaissance Beasts, of Animals, Humans, and other Wonderful Creatures*, ed. by E. Fudge, Champaign, IL, 2004. She discusses indications, at least in England, of anxiety over meat eating and the problematic nature of human dominion.
- 76 Jan Victors (1620 – after 1676) was active in Amsterdam. See D. Muller, *Jan Victors (1619–76)*, PhD diss., University of Delaware (1985), 1986, p. 313, no. A94, and Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, vol. IV, 2611.

- 77 The Groote Vleeshal had six entrances, one of which led upstairs to the Vinders Kamer, according to Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst*, Deel 4, p. 77.
- 78 The gable stone, transferred to various buildings after the destruction of the meathalls; restored by Vrienden van Amsterdamse Gevelstenen. See H. P. Schouten's drawing (1774) showing the relief at the Grote Vleeshal, in Kistemaker, *et al.*, *Amsterdam Marktstad*, p. 41. Also Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst*, vol. II, p. 39; he (mistakenly) describes the depiction on the stone as a pig (rather than ox) and another carcass.
- 79 *Corpus V*, pp. 89–96. P. Schatborn, *Tekeningen van Rembrandt en zijn onbekende leerlingen in het Rijksmuseum*, The Hague, 1985, cat. nos: 15, 16, 107, 108, 109, 110. For *parerga*, see V. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image. An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*, trans. by A.-M. Glasheen, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 23ff.; S. Lingo, *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting*, New Haven, 2008, pp. 165 ff.; and J. Woodall, 'Laying the Table: The Procedure of Still Life', *Art History*, 35, 2012, p. 983.
- 80 Sutton, 'Dogs and Dogma'.
- 81 For 'een ossie naer 't leven van Rembrandt', see Strauss and van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents*, 1656/12, nos: 108, 119. Scholars have assumed this to refer to a carcass rather than a living ox.
- 82 Bevers, *Rembrandt, die Zeichnungen*, no. 48.
- 83 G. Schwartz, *The Rembrandt Book*, New York, 2006, p. 284.
- 84 Van Mander, *Grondt*, vol. IX (Miedema edn), pp. 218–234.
- 85 Van Mander was well aware of the anecdote: '[...] Pausias can here serve as a prime example; he painted many years ago when first the sacrifice before the altars, wherein the oxen that stood to wait for the slaughter were to be seen in foreshortening. Therein he knew his art capable of succeeding', Van Mander, *Grondt*, vol. IX (Miedema edn), pp. 232–233. See S. Dickey, 'Saskia as *Glycera*: Rembrandt's Emulation of an Antique Prototype', in *Aemulatio, Imitation, Emulation and Invention in Netherlandish Art from 1500 to 1800. Essays in Honor of Eric Jan Sluijter*, ed. by A. W. A. Boschloo, *et al.*, Zwolle, 2011, p. 243. Also E. H. Gombrich, *The Heritage of Apelles. Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, Ithaca, NY, 1976, p. 16. Prof. Dickey called my attention to Vasari's mention of the ox in his biography of Michelangelo. I would suggest this was a veiled reference to the Pausias anecdote: 'A painter had painted a picture in which the best thing was an ox, and someone asked why it was that the painter had made the ox more lifelike than anything else? Michaelangelo answered, "Every painter can portray himself well"'. In Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. by G. du C. De Vere, New York & Toronto, 1996, vol. II, p. 743; and in Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst: anders de zichtbaere werelt*, 1678, p. 167 (<https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/origineel.php?origineel=hoog006inle01_01_scan0189>, accessed on 3 Jan. 2019).
- 86 E. McGrath, 'The Painted Decoration of Rubens's House', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 41, 1978, pp. 259–261.
- 87 Dickey suggests that even here Pausias, an artist known to use encaustic, may have played a role.
- 88 *Corpus* writers suggest that the subject presented a welcome challenge to Rembrandt (*Corpus V*, pp. 555, 561). Samuel van Hoogstraten noted such painterly effects as characteristic of Rembrandt's approach in his middle and later work, terming them 'rulheyd, kenlijkheyd', and lesser lights. See E. J. Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals, History Painting in Amsterdam 1630–1650*, Amsterdam, 2015, pp. 48, 59, 65, referring to *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst*, Rotterdam, 1678.
- 89 Private communication from Drs. Irene Groeneweg on the woman's dress and status.
- 90 The *Corpus V* entry indicates difficulty identifying the setting, whether a farm house cellar (indicated in the text) or a lean-to of a farmstead (suggested in the note) or perhaps a covered courtyard at the back of a city dwelling. *Corpus V*, cat. no. V 21, p. 551 and note 1. A thorough cleaning would clarify details and (perhaps) reveal a partially open-air structure.
- 91 'De Hollandtse slacht-tijdt', an appendix on butchering in *De verstandige kock*, Amsterdam, 1668: 'Immediately after slaughter eviscerate by pulling out bladder, intestines, rumen and other parts of stomach, liver, heart, lungs, trachea'. See D. R. Barnes and P. G. Rose, *Matters of Taste: Food and Drink in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art and Life*, Albany, NY & Syracuse, NY, 2002.
- 92 *Corpus III*, C 122, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum. It was considered a genuine Rembrandt until 1989 when the Rembrandt Research Project (RRP) downgraded it to studio work. The RRP entry notes that it possibly relates to a painting (c. 1640) by Rembrandt, now lost, which was then copied by Carel Fabritius when he worked in Rembrandt's studio. The Paris panel does contain a barely visible object – basket (?) – in the right foreground.
- 93 Ember, *Old Masters Gallery*, cat. no. 66; perhaps Isaac and/or Adriaen van Ostade as painter.
- 94 *Corpus V*, 556; the work is not extant.
- 95 *Corpus V*, 21 lists four depictions of an ox in Doomer's inventory.
- 96 P. Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy: The Artist, his Patrons, and the Art Market in Seventeenth-Century Netherlands*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 33–35. Eric Jan Sluijter has informally commented that while Rembrandt might not have known the specific clientele – he usually sold through dealers – he painted with connoisseurs in mind who understood his interests.
- 97 *Corpus V*, 21. The Montias database lists Cronenburgh as owning several landscapes with oxen (<<http://research.frick.org/montias/browserecord.php?action=browse&recid=1487>>, accessed on 4 Jan. 2019).
- 98 '[S]childerije afbeeldende een geslachten osch van Rembrandt f 30'. Christoffel Hirschvogel, a barber-surgeon (originally from Nuremberg), departed Amsterdam on 31 July 1661 leaving behind some possessions. His landlord's appraiser valued 'the painting of an ox by Rembrandt' as f 30, but according to a note in the margin on 29 July 1661, Hirschvogel himself had had an appraiser evaluate it as worth f 72. See Strauss and van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents*, no. 1661/10, and *Corpus V*, p. 561. This painting might have referred not to the Paris picture but to another from Rembrandt's workshop, such as the Glasgow panel (*Corpus III*, C 122, Fig. 16 here). Although surgeons were not academics, they did submit to examinations on anatomy and attended lessons in the guild hall. See Huisman, *Finger of God*, p. 164, and M. A. van Aniel, *Chirurgijns, vrije meesters, beunhazen en kwakzalvers: de chirurgijns-gilden en de practijk der heilkunde, 1400–1800*, Amsterdam, 1941, pp. 67–70. The upper tiers of the anatomy theatres were reserved for members of the surgeons' guilds and their students.
- 99 For an example of this approach, see Posèq, 'A Proposal for Rembrandt's Two Versions of *Slaughtered Ox*', pp. 271–276, which argues that the Ox functioned as an allegory of Rembrandt's troubles.

- ¹⁰⁰ M. D. Carroll, 'The Blade and the Brush: Rembrandt's *Slaughtered Ox* and *Anatomy of Doctor Deyman*', *Oxford Art Journal*, 40, 2017, pp. 347–369.
- ¹⁰¹ P. Cuneo, *Animals and Early Modern Identity*, Burlington & Aldershot, 2014, p. 3.
- ¹⁰² On Rembrandt's rough manner in relation to Titian's late style, E. van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work*, Amsterdam, 1997, pp. 162–165. On Rembrandt's attention to the kinship between pigment and human flesh in the *Slaughtered Ox* especially, see S. Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market*, Chicago, 1988, p. 81. See also discussion of Rembrandt's rough 'Germanic' painting style in his late years in relation to Junius's writings, T. Weststeijn, *Art and Antiquity in the Netherlands and Britain: The Vernacular Arcadia of Franciscus Junius*, Leiden, 2015, Ch. 5.
- ¹⁰³ Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, p. 70, on Rembrandt's understanding of the rhetorical principles of creative imitation.
- ¹⁰⁴ Coined 'Herauslösungen' by Christian Tümpel, 'Rembrandts Ikonographie', *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen*, 13, 1965, pp. 113ff; also 'Studien zur Ikonographie der Historien Rembrandts: Deutung und Interpretation der Bildinhalte', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 20, 1969, p. 160 ff; and Tümpel's monograph *Rembrandt*, Antwerp, 1986, pp. 195–197.
- ¹⁰⁵ L. O. Goedde, 'A Little World Made Cunningly: Dutch Still Life and Ekphrasis', exh. cat., *Still-Lives of the Golden Age, Northern European Paintings from the Heinz Family Collection*, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1989, pp. 38ff.; A. M. Kettering, 'Ter Borch's Ladies in Satin', *Art History*, 16, March, 1993, pp. 113–115; T. Weststeijn, *The Visible World. Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory*, Amsterdam, 2008, pp. 154–155; A. DiFuria, 'Genre, Audience, Origins, and Definitions', in *New Perspectives on Early Modern Northern European Genre Imagery*, pp. 3–9.

